

election Campaign and other national Democratic organizations in 1995 and 1996.⁵⁷⁶ A sense of the exponential increase in such giving is conveyed by the aggregate figures. For purposes of this comparative analysis, totals were generated by adding the contributions of seven Minnesota tribes (Fond du Lac, Leech Lake, Lower Sioux, Mille Lacs, Prairie Island, Shakopee, Upper Sioux)⁵⁷⁷ and three Wisconsin tribes (Ho-Chunk, Oneida, St. Croix) involved in the Hudson opposition lobby, as well as MIGA and the tribes' lead interfaces with the DNC and the Re-election Campaign – O'Connor and Kitto⁵⁷⁸ – for two periods: Jan. 1, 1992 through April 28, 1995; and April 29, 1995, through December 31, 1996. The first period effectively represents two political election (and fund-raising) cycles; the second encompasses only the time between the April 28, 1995, DNC meeting and the end of the 1996 general cycle. This division corresponds to evidence suggesting that the tribal opponents and the DNC discussed solicitations or pledges of financial support at the April 28 DNC meeting about the Hudson application.

⁵⁷⁶In this analysis, only contributions to the DNC, DSCC, DCCC, Democratic Leadership Council and Clinton/Gore '96 Committee (primary and general election accounts) have been considered. Nearly all of the studied tribes made contributions to federal congressional campaigns during the pre- and post-decisional time frames. The evidence does not indicate any improper connection between such contribution activity and the Hudson decision-making process, and those figures are not detailed in this report.

⁵⁷⁷Of the 11 Minnesota tribes, four made no contributions whatsoever at the federal level in 1995 or 1996: Bois Forte, Grand Portage, Red Lake, and White Earth.

⁵⁷⁸Totals for O'Connor and Kitto also include contributions by their immediate family members. This analysis includes O'Connor's and Kitto's prior DNC and Clinton/Gore '92 giving in large part because O'Connor's claims in spring 1995 about the strength of support the Hudson opponents had given to Democrats in the past seemed to consciously include the lobbyists. For example, in his May 8, 1995, letter to Ickes, O'Connor's described to "previous financial support to the DNC and the 1992 Clinton/Gore Campaign Committee" and attributed it to "the representatives of the tribes that met with Chairman Fowler" on April 28. Crediting the tribes in part through the past contribution activity of their lobbyists makes greater sense after viewing the prior giving records of those tribes.